

DP Structure and Ellipsis in Colloquial Jakarta Indonesian

Introduction

Noun phrases in many Malay and Indonesian languages have a rich internal structure, but their grammar has been little discussed in the literature. I examine determiner phrases in Colloquial Jakarta Indonesian (CJI), with particular attention to a variety of DP-internal ellipsis. Sneddon (2006) provides a broad overview of CJI.

Basic structure

Simpson (2005) provides an analysis of numerals, classifiers and determiners which he argues is applicable to several Southeast Asian languages including Standard Indonesian. We adopt his analysis here for CJI, with additional articulation to describe possessors. The functional projections of our phrase structure are described in (1).

(1) DP > NumP > ClassP > PossP > NP

The DP in (2) provides an example where all of these heads are present. Here, we take the adjective phrase *besar* to be in an adjunct position within the NP, and the prepositional phrase *di bukit* is an adjunct on the PossP. Relative clauses as in (4) are also PossP adjuncts. There are restrictions on the number of these adjuncts used, which we do not discuss further here. Pronouns are of the category PossP, because they allow relative clause and prepositional phrase adjuncts but not adjective phrase adjuncts.

Simpson adopts the assumption, from Cinque (1996), that languages have a tendency to be either consistently head-initial or head-final, and apparent deviations from this are derived from phrasal movement. CJI is a head-initial language. Therefore, the demonstrative at the end of the phrase in (2), then, is evidence, in Simpson's analysis, that NumP has moved from the complement of DP to the specifier position. This movement does not obligatorily occur, as demonstrated by (3), and movement PossP → [Spec, NumP] movement can also occur (4). Following Chomsky (2001), we take the movement to be driven by an EPP feature. Thus, the distribution of movement is controlled by the distribution of functional heads which have an EPP feature. We are forced to put the Poss head (eg *-nya*) following its complement to allow the possessor to fill the specifier position and the complement to be the NP.

Ellipsis

Within our proposed structure, CJI can be shown to allow ellipsis on PossPs internal to a DP, as shown in (5) through (7). To understand this data, note *punya* generally patterns as a preposition rather than a Poss head. In these examples, the resumption of ellipsis takes the place of a PossP. We know this because elements internal to a PossP, like possession (6, 7) and adjective phrases (5), are blocked as adjuncts to the ellipsis site. On the other hand, projections above the PossP (numbers, classifiers, adjuncts on top of PossP) (5-7) are allowed.

It would be difficult to construct a theory of ellipsis based on syntactic identity, as sometimes only part of the PossP is targeted by ellipsis. In the DP in (5) *tiga baju biru* (three shirt blue), the PossP is *baju biru* (shirt blue), yet *tiga yang hijau* (three REL green) before ellipsis must be *tiga baju yang hijau* (three shirt REL green) rather than *tiga baju biru yang hijau* (three shirt blue REL green) for clear semantic reasons. We propose that the ellipsis is driven by a null pronoun *pro*. Like other pronouns, CJI *pro* is of the category PossP, and it is interpreted pragmatically. (5) shows ellipsis referring to a constituent which is an N' or N, but must have the category PossP in order to block AdjP adjuncts, so (5) favors a pronoun-based analysis over one based on syntactic identity.

Data

- (2) [^{DP}[Tiga [^{CLP}ekor [^{PossP}[^{PossP}[^{NP}anjing besar]-nya dia] [^{PP}di bukit]]]]]_i [^{D'}itu_[+EPP] t_i]]
Three cl(animal) dog big-POSS 3.SG LOC hill that
“Those three big dogs of his on (the) hill”
- (3) itu anjing-anjing
that dog-REDUP
“Those dogs”
- (4) [^{DP}[^{NumP}[^{NP}ayam [^{CP}yang hitam]]]_i [^{Num'}tiga_[+EPP] [^{CLP}ekor t_i]]]]
chicken REL black three cl(animal)
“Three black chickens”
- (5) Aku beli tiga baju (yang) biru, tiga *(yang) hijau, sama tiga *(yang) pink
1.SG buy three shirt REL blue three REL green and three REL pink
“I bought three blue shirts, three green and three pink”
- (6) Baju (punya) saya merah, sama punya kamu biru
shirt POSS 1.SG red and POSS you blue
“My shirt is red and yours is blue”
- (7) *Baju (punya) saya merah, sama(-nya) kamu biru
shirt POSS 1.SG red and POSS you blue

References

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